1967-Pamphlet: Stop expulsions in the NDP! (Published by the Committee to Defend the Expelled) Socialist Caucus Bulletin, Toronto

EXPULSIONS in the N.D.P.I

 The expulsions in the New Democratic Party.

Published by
The Committee
to Defend the
Expelled

25 cents



Defend Democracy in the NDP

INTRODUCTION

The New Democratic Party at the time of this writing is preparing for its 4th biennial convention since the party was founded in 1961. The mood is one of optimism: all across the country support for the NDP is increasing. As more and more people come to reject the old-line parties with their strikebreaking, their big business policies, and their support of the genocide in Vietnam, they turn to the NDP, Canada's labour party, as the only viable alternative. For the first time, New Democrats can smell the sweet scent of success, waiting almost within their very grasp.

But this smell is contaminated with a stifling stench the pervasive odour of expulsions. Several leading Young
New Democrats in the Ontario Party have been expelled
by the Ontario Party Executive, charged with being members or supporters of another political party. No evidence
was presented to establish this allegation, and the youth
were not given the opportunity to defend themselves before the leading bodies of the Party. All the expelled
were socialists, and supporters of the Socialist Caucus,
a minority group within the Party, seeking to win the
majority to what it considers to be a socialist program.

The question of the expulsions was never submitted to the membership by the Executive, and they were not mentioned in the Party press until the decision had been made final. In the absence of any information forthcoming from the Executive regarding the affair, a Committee to Defend the Expelled was established by those who were determined to publicize and reverse the Executive's actions. This Committee organized and led the protest of the membership over the Executive's action. Support for the Committee was forthcoming from all areas of the Province. Five of the six Ottawa area riding associations expressed their support of the democratic rights of the expelled. Member of Parliament, Bert Herridge sent the Committee a donation to defray expenses.

The Committee fought an uphill battle all the way, trying every means to have the matter discussed at the local riding level. In several cases we were successful, and the support for the expelled was overwhelm-

ing. But the vast majority of the membership was not given a chance to voice its opinions on the expulsions. We are confident that given the opportunity the Party membership would have overwhelmingly opposed them.

The case remains unresolved. The Provincial Council was blackmailed into ratifying the expulsions because the Executive had already committed itself to the expulsions, and a vote against them would have signified a vote of no confidence in the Executive. We now intend to take the case to the Federal Convention, to appeal for its intervention, in establishing guidelines on the rights of members and minority groups. The struggle is far from over.

These expulsions are not the first in the history of the CCF-NDP. The last time they occurred in Ontario was 1963. They may very well occur again in future. In fact, the Provincial Council has given the Provincial Executive a carte blanche to expel without appeal 13 more members, as yet unnamed, from the Party later this year, This scandalous action makes it even more urgent to fight for a democratic NDP. We have (to paraphrase Martin Luther King) not only the right but the responsibility to speak out in opposition to the undemocratic practices of our leadership. There may be those in the party who would be willing to give the executive a free rein in the matter of discipline, and allow them to expel people without appeal or trial. These people do not understand the grave implications of allowing the leadership bodies of the Party to act arbitrarily.

What does it mean when the leadership of a democratic party arrogates to itself the right to discipline or expel members without a hearing, without evidence? It signifies the stagnation and bureaucratization of that leadership. It signifies their misinformation of, and lack of respect for the membership. It signifies the beginning of the end for that Party.

If we value our democratic rights and traditions, then we have an obligation to defend the rights of minorities within the party to express their views freely - whether they be socialist, right-wing or middle of the road. Freedom to organize as a caucus around programmatic issues is the best means of arriving at a policy at convention that meets the needs of the Canadian people.

One of the most disturbing things about these expulsions was that they were carried out not only undem ocratically, but dishonestly. The Executive was not making an honest mistake; the actions show that they calculated everystep in the most cynical fashion. For example, the Executive refused to give the expelled any reason for their expulsion, even claiming that there

"were no official reasons", right up until the very lay the question came before the Provincial Council. Sudde: ly, the Executive claimed that they had evidence to established that all the expelled were of a political persuasion known as Trotskyism, and supported the League for Socialist Action, which they claimed had been declared "another political party" at a previous convention. This is in fact not true; the decision had not been taken at a convention. But more important than this, the expelled were suddenly placed in a position where defence against the "charge" was impossible under the circumstances.

Another dishonest aspect appears when we look back to the October, 1966 convention of the Ontario YND. Here, the hardest opponents of the socialist wing in the Youth proposed that youth memberships be processed by the Party, and that discipline be in the Party's hands. Though this was vigorously opposed, it was carried by the convention. In this way the ground work was prepared for the elimination of key elements from the left wing of the party, sparing the Youth executive the difficulties involved in an expulsion. For the left wing in the Youth was large enough that they might easily have overturned any move to get rid of them.

The Party leadership may think it has improved its chances of taking power now that "embarrassing" minority elements are excluded. On the contrary, the Party has suffered from these expulsions far more than the victims of those expulsions. The expelled at least have maintained their integrity. But the Party leadership in Ontario have brought disgrace upon themselves and the Party by their actions. How can they hope to lead the Canadian people to a brighter future when they do not even have confidence that their program can stand up to debate and criticism? How do they expect to lead trade unionists fighting for their rights on the the job, when their own Party members cannot enjoy these basic rights within the Party? People cannot be attracted to a Party where their rights as individuals are subject to being trampled upon by the leadership. This is the greatest tragedy of the expulsions.

But rejecting the NDP because of its leadership's actions is a mistake The NDP, despite its shortcomings, is the political expression of the aspirations of the working people of this country for a better world. Its traditions are rooted in the struggles of the people for social justice and democracy, for recognition of the rights of labour, for an end to poverty and war. It is this tradition that the Party leadership cannot erase, no matter how many members its expels. The NDP remains the only real alternative to big business rule, the only viable vehicle

for social change. Through our struggles to preserve the NDP as a place where all progressive tendencies can meet and discuss without fear, we are helping to bring closer the final victory of our Party and its ideals.

On May 28, 1967 the Toronto Committee to Defend the Expelled sponsored a "Report Back" meeting at the Labour Lyceum in Toronto. About fifty new Democrats heard reports from the Sudbury Provincial Council Meeting where the expulsions were ratified. Speakers at the meeting were Gary Porter, one of the expelled, previously a member of the Ottawa Carlton East riding, Don Oman, executive member of High Park riding in Toronto and Alternate delegate to the Provincial Council meeting and John Steele, executive member of St. George riding and Chairman of the Ontario Socialist Caucus. All three were in Sudbury for the Council meeting. The meeting was chaired by Stewart Sinclair, member of Davenport Riding and Local 1967 UAW.

This pamphlet contains edited versions of the speeches given to the meeting by Gary Porter and John Steele, an article by Ken Wolfson, member of St. Andrews-St. Patricks and leading figure in the Ontario Young New Democrats Left Caucus, on the effect of the expulsions in the Youth movement, as well as documents relevent to the expulsions.

It is hoped that wide circulation of this pamphlet will serve to prevent further political expulsions by creating an awareness in the NDP of the necessity to defend internal Party democracy and the rights of the membership.

PROV. COUNCIL EXEC. MOTION - SUDBURY MAY 13/67

After very serious study and consideration, the Executive recommends the refusal of the applications of 9 persons who were formerly members of the Youth section before the integration of the Youth section into the Party. The reason for the recommendation is that the Executive has good reason to believe that each of them is either a member or supporter of another political party. It must be pointed out that not one of these persons was a member of the party as such, but had membership in the Youth section. In the past, a youth member had membership in the party by virtue of being a member of the Youth. At the last Convention the Youth section itself asked, and received approval of the convention, that all persons applying to the party who were members of the Youth alone were to be considered as new applications.

Article 9 (5) of the Provincial Constitution provides that "The Provincial Council has full authority to accept or reject applications for membership or affiliations, subject to the requirements of Article 3B, Section (3)."

The Executive asks that its recommendation be accepted...

The Expulsion Story

By Gary Forter

Twelve young NDP-NDYers were expelled from the NDP recently. Tonight I want to tell you about the history of these expulsions and about the Provincial Council meeting of the Ontario NDP held in Sudbury on May lith and 12th which dealt with the expulsions. Three of the expelled, Alex Chisholm, Wendy Stevenson and I, went to that Council Meeting. We went there to get a hearing, to hear the charges that had never been laid, to see the evidence that had never been presented, to present our defence to the delegates of the Council Meeting. We left in shocked disbelief at what occurredthere. Before we look at the Council Meeting I would like to go back over the history of these expulsions, about why we had to go to Sudbury in the first place.

The story begins in Ottawa, when on January 9, after having applied in December for renewals of our member-ships through the vice-president of our riding association, five of us received registered letters from the riding executive informing us that our renewal applications had been turned down.

We called prominent members of the riding executive on the same evening as we received the letters. We asked the precise reasons for our exclusion and why, if there was some problem, we had not been consulted. Myrtle Gordon, the President of the Riding told us, "I have nothing what soever to say to you people. If you wish to appeal, you know the channels -- Goodnight."

After such a summary and rude refusal even to discuss this serious matter, the five of us, Ken Warren, Brenda Dineen, Jeff White, Kate Porter and I, began immediately to organize support in our own defence among the membership of the Party and the NDY. We did mailings to as many members in Ottawa as we had addresses for, we issued a press release because we had no other means of reaching the vast majority of the members in Ottawa. With 16 other NDP-NDY members we established a defence committee to rally support for our case. After a one week whirlwind campaign, two of us, Jeff White and I, came down to the provincial Council Meeting of the Party which was held on January 16 in

Toronto. The Socialist Caucus of the Party and the Left Caucus of the Youth organized a meeting so the delegates at the Council Meeting could hear the story of the expulsions. The response at that meeting was warm and encouraging and the next day the executive of the ONDP was forced, by the pressure of the support we had won, to give in. They told us it was all a misunderstanding, that there had been no expulsions and that all we had to do was reapply directly to the provincial executive. We were sure we had won, and the whole miserable affair seemed over.

The executive told us to reapply and we did. But in March, we received letters from the Provincial Executive telling us that we had again been refused. Jeff White and I were given no reason in the letter at all. The "reason" given for the other three was that they had "reason to believe" they were "members or supporters of another political party"--which was not named.

Can you imagine how we felt? After all we were not newcomers to the party, Jeff White for instance had been in the NDY for $4\frac{1}{2}$ years. I had been a member of the Party since its founding and a member of the CCF youth movement for over two years before that. I had served on the Ontario YND Executive, the Ottawa Area Council of the Party and the Party Provincial Council, the highest bodies of the Party and the youth in this province.

But this time the expulsions were broader, they had been extended to Torchip Joe Young and Wendy Stevenson had been expelled. These people had been leaders of the Left Caucus of the OYND and leaders of the movment.

HERBERT HERRIDGE M.P. ...

in a letter to the Committee for the Defense of the Expelled in Toronto wrote:

"I am very surprised to read that these young people have been expelled because the Ontario Provincial Executive has reason to believe that they are supporters of another political party, and that there is no appeal against this decision to the provincial convention.

"In my opinion, any person who supports the principles and purposes of the New Democratic Party and is not a member of another party, and is willing to work to that end, is entitled to membership in the New Democratic Party Youth section.

"Please find enclosed my personal cheque to value \$10.00 as my donation.

Fraternally yours, Herbert Herridge, Member for Kootenay West. Sue Claus, the most outstanding leader in the struggle to establish the right to form NDY clubs in Toronto high schools had been expelled. Members with long standing, active and loyal recorss of service to the Party; these were the expelled. And there were others, all of them activists in the movement, twelve young people in all.

Such people do not give up the fight easily. When we received our letters in Ottawa, we called John Harney, the Provincial Secretary of the Party long distance. We asked him why this was being done, what possible reason could there be? He told me there were no official reasons for our expulsions. I couldn't believe my ears. "No official reasons." I asked him how we could appeal this action. He told me that we had no right of appeal. No charges, no evidence, no right of appeal.

Clearly we had no recourse but an all-out appeal to the membership by any means at our disposal. We organized meetings, circulated petitions and issued press releases. The response was inspiring. For example Defence committees were established in Ottawa and Toronto, which have done excellent work publicizing the facts of this case. In Ottawa, five of the six ridings supported our demand for a fair hearing at the upcoming provincial council meeting in Sudbury. We received support from New Democrats right across the country. Petitions are still coming in from B.C. and Alberta to Quebec. Prominent party members in St. Catherines and Welland, Sarnia and the Lakehead sent messages of support. The Oshawa and Peterboro Area Councils passed resolutions in opposition to these expulsions; ridings across the province sent in resolutions to the Provincial Executive calling for the right of the expelled to defend themselves before the Party-about 20 such resolutions in all. Bert Herridge, MP for Kootenay West sent a letter to the Toronto Defence Committee questioning these expulsions and Colin Cameron MP for Nanaimo-Couichin-the-Islands, signed a petition which was circulated in Alberta against the expulsions. So you can see that a good deal of support can be aroused in defence of democracy in the NDP

Last week-end three of us went down to the provincial council meeting in Sudbury.

This was no ordinary Council Meeting. Many of the delegates from the southern part of the province were not present and most of the weekend was spent elections eering for Bud Germa, the NDP candidate in the Federal by election in Sudbury. It was a rump council meeting and did not accurately represent the Ontario Party.

NDP turns down nine as "Trotskyites"

SUDBURY (CP) — The Ontario New Democratic Party provincial council has turned down membership bids by nine former members of the NDP youth section on the grounds they are members of another party.

The council found at a meeting Saturday night that the would-be members belonged to or supported the League for Socialist Action and its youth branch, the Young Socialist Forum.

A statement issued by the Ontario NDP described the socialist groups as the Trotyskyite movement in Canada and sair they are considered a political party. NDP members must sign a state-

ment that they do not support another party.

Wendy Stevenson, 20, a past president of Toronto's Spadina section of New

Democratic Youth, led the nine applicants and three others to Sudbury for the council meeting. They were not permitted to appear.

Miss Stevenson said in an interview her group feels Canada should take an active role against the war in Viet Nam, but in the NDP, "some members of the party are in favor of the war."

press

50 in N

Fifty NDP members last night protested what they called a party "purge" of 12 members without giving those expelled an opportunity to defend themselves.

In a resolution, the group demanded that the Ontario

Rejected NDP All Executives In Youth Group

Three former high - ranking officials in the Ontario New Democratic Party youth section learned Sunday they are unable to join the senior party.

The senior party executive alleged that nine former members had "Troskyite leanings." They were refused a chance to defend themselves at the weekend provincial council meeting here.

The NDP says they were never members of the party because they had been members or supported Trotskyite movement. An NDP member can only be a member of one party, the party ruled.

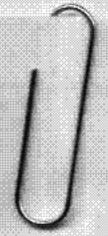
NDY EXECUTIVES

Gary Porter, 23, of Toronto one of three former members, said he joined the CCF youth (now the NDP) when he was 14. He has been program director and president of the NDY at Carleton University. He was also on the provincial executive and a delegate to the provincial council last year. Porter said the NDP says he was never a member.

He said he learned his membership had been turned down from a letter he received. No official reason was given.

Alex Chisholm, 22, also of Toronto was a former member. His case was different because he held dual memberships, one in the senior party and the other in the youth section.

His application to the youth section was rejected. Chisholm said he was told he could apply to the senior party for membership, but added, an NDP official told him it would not be accepted.



No chance to defend selves

NDP undemocratic in expelling 12

The New Democratic Party used undemocratic procedures in expelling 12 members from the party, a meeting called by a group of NDP members charged last night.

The meeting, attended by more than 50 persons claiming

NDP membership, unanimously demanded that the NDP Provincial Council, meeting in Sudbury this weekend, reconsider the expulsions.

The meeting declared that the expulsion of the 12 members by the NDP executive could only hurt the party in terms of its internal democracy.

The recommendation approved at the meeting stated that the failure of the party to give the expelled a chance to defend themselves was deplorable and must be corrected. It stated that the expelled members should have an opportunity of learning what the charges are and should be given a hearing at an open meeting or be immediately reinstated.

Four of the expelled members informed the meeting they did not know why they had been expelled. All had been active members in the New Democratic Youth and most were opposed to the war in Vietnam.

Joseph Young, chairman of the York University Committee of Students to end the War in Vietnam, said he thought he had been expelled because he was an activist against the war in Vietnam and because he was a socialist.

He was critical of the NDP for not speaking out on more occasions against the Vietnam war.

He felt this was not done because the leaders were concerned about their place in the party, and because they were image-conscious.

Wendy Stevenson said she had no idea why she had been expelled from the New Democratic Youth. She said John Harney, NDP provincial secretary, told her he did not know what the charges were.

She felt there was a trend to eliminate the youth organization in Ontario, in which the membership had dropped to 150. She said rumors and sly a c c u s a t i o n s are drifting around about 67 of the 150.

IDP protest 'purge'

NDP executive tell the 12 why they were thrown out and give them a public hearing or else "immediate-ly reinstate" them.

The resolution said that the party's "internal democracy" was endangered by the expulsions and that the party's image with the voters would be hurt.

Members of the provincial executive were invited to last night's meeting in Carpenters Hall, Gerrard St., but none showed up.

M. P. Signs Petition

The following statement was circulated to a recently held seminar of the Alberta and BC NDY in Banff. Among the numbers who signed the petition was Colin Cameron MP. In signing he remarked that he thought the "expulsions were absurd." The

statement read:

We the undersigned members of the New Democratic Party deplore the recent expulsions of young anti-Vietnam War activists from the Ontario New Democratic Party. No specific charges were laid and the expelled were not given the chance to put their case to the membership. We feel democracy in the ONDP is at stake. We therefore call on the Provincial Executive to stop these expulsions, grant the expelled their democratic rights and allow the membership to be heard through democratic appeal procedure.

The atmosphere at that meeting was an all pervading, disgusting one of slander and lies against the expelled. At the behest of the ONDP leadership we were prohibited from distributing leaflets to the delegates, and Alex Chisholm and I were actually thrown out of the hall. We heard vicious tales about how the expelled wilfully and disloyally drove prospective new members away from the Party. This story is almost grotesque when you consider that Joe Young alone signed up over 25 new members last year. Delegates were even discouraged from talking to us to find out what we had to say about the expulsions. This unreasoning witch-hunt atmosphere was consciously created by the leadership so that we would be judged and sentenced before the Council even discussed the matter.

When the Council meeting finally convened, John Harney, the Provincial Secretary, told the delegates that a few membership applications had been refused and he read a list of the expelled. A few of the delegates asked for reasons. Only then, with the atmosphere of a lynch mob already created among the majority of the delegates, and with the expelled carefully excluded from the meeting, only then did Terry Morley, the Federal president of the NDY raise the charge that the expelled were members of the League for Socialist Action. That they waited until that point to make this charge is easy to understand. Only in this way could these charges be half-sustained. Even the executive did not take the charge seriously. The New Democrat states "It was found that they (the expelled) belonged to, worked for, or in other ways indicated their support for the League for Socialist Action and its youth branch, the Young Socialist Forum - the Trotskyite movement in Canada .

This charge was substantiated by "evidence" such as one of the expelled works in the Vanguard Bookstore in Toronto, others of them had read or sold Young Socialist Forum (a socialist youth magazine which supports the NDP) and others participated in the Carlton University Socialist Club. Not once did any member of the executive try to establish a concrete link between any of the expelled and the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialist Forum. When one delegate, in the light of generally accepted criteria of a political party, questioned the designation of the LSA and the YSF as a political Party, the Executive said this was a Party decision and wasn't to be discussed. The unserious manner in which this whole thing was handled was demonstrated by the discussion which followed Terry Morely's charges. The Executive position was placed on the floor in the framework of a vote of confidence for the executive. The delegates were asked to accept the thoroughness of the "investigations" by the Executive and the soundness of their considered opinion on the

The Harvest of NDY Expulsions

By Ken Wolfson

For the Young New Democrats, this present purge is only a continuation of six years of threats, rumours and repeated expulsions. The right-wing Executive of the youth has used expulsions as an organizational method to eliminate discussion, silence minorities and stifle the Youth itself as an active, outgoing organization.

The campaign of high school Young New Democrats for political clubs received wide publicity. Not so well known is the fact that the leaders of this campaign were the object of vicious attacks by the executive, were threatened with expulsion, and that several actually were suspended from the YND.

The YND helped initiate the successful March on Ottawa to end the war in Vietnam on March 26, 1966. Once again, when the action was over, the Executive suspended eight of the YNDers who had taken the lead in building this action and making it a united effort of all anti-war forces.

Expulsions from the Youth have taken place across the country. For example, Dick Fidler, a prominent member of the Quebec NDY, was expelled when he attempted to transfer to the Alberta party. Penny Simpson was expelled from the Quebec NDY only a few weeks ago. The Executive of the B.C. NDY expelled Lyle Severin claiming they had evidence that Severin had sold literature for the League for Socialist Action. They said that this evidence came FROM THE ONTARIO PROVINCIAL POLICE - AND THAT HANS BROWN, FEDERAL YOUTH SECRETARY, WAS THE GO-BETWEEN!

All these young NDPers were socialists, members of the left caucus.

Now twelve have been expelled in Ontario. And that is not the end of it: a dozen more expulsions have been approved. Leaders of the YND have spread stories that 65 are to be expelled--40% of the total youth membership in this province.

In three of the twelve expulsions, the Youth Leader-

ship was directly responsible. Three YNDers received letters from Party Secretary Harney, curtly informing them that the Youth Executive had decided them unacceptable as youth members. No reason given, and no appeal. The YND has become, it seems, a private club, where anyone can be excluded, without cause, on the whim of the Executive.

These exclusions are completely unconstitutional. In fact, the Youth Executive worked for several months last fall to pass a Constitutional Amendment for membership integration with the Party--denying themselves the right to expel youth members.

You can imagine the destructive impact on the youth movement of these constant expulsions. Youth clubs have collapsed over the whole province. Mem bership has dropped in Ontario from 600 to 150 in the past twelve months. The YND, prevented by its leadership from carrying out any actions that might attract radical-minded youth, is famous far and wide across Canada, for expulsions. Try to recruit a young radical to the YND and you'll hear the same response over and over--"I support the NDP, but I don't want to get expelled."

This is the real harvest of six years of continual expulsions of young socialists in the NDY--the youth movement has been effectively smashed, the reputation of the party blackened, and a vital opportunity to win the radical youth of Canada to the NDP lost.

It is time to halt the purge, which has raged for six years in the youth movement. The Left Caucus calls for the reinstatement of the expelled, and a halt to all expulsions. The NDY must welcome all currents of radical thought among youth who support the NDP, and must move out with the kind of militant actions that can attract young people. Only in this way can the NDY be reborn as a dynamic movement to win young people to the New Democratic Party.

continued from page 10

expulsions. This was taken to ridiculous lengths when the delegates were asked, through the executive motion to give the Executive the go-ahead to refuse the member ships of 13 more former YND members whom they refused to name and who had not yet sent in their renewal applications. Although a good number of ridings had sent in resolutions on the matter none of them came to the floor for a vote, and only one of them was read.

Consequently, the expulsions were upheld by an overwhelming majority.

The Politics of the Expulsions

By John Steele

As chairman of the Socialist Caucus I feel called upon to speak at this meeting because all the expelled NDPers are Socialist Caucus supporters in Ontario. We all hold similar views on what the program should be in the Party. We don't think the party program is adequate, and we put forward proposals for a Socialist program.

So when my co-thinkers in the party are expelled my membership is in question too. I received my membership this year. But my renewal application was removed from the files and held up seven months. I finally sent a registered letter to the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Harney, and received my card.

It is vital to find out why there are expulsions and what they mean for the party. A party with such developing strength, and such promise for the working people of Canada shouldn't have expulsions. Nobody in the party wants expulsions. Even the leadership say they don't like expulsions. Expulsions do no good for the party. People often say: How come there are wars if nobody wants them? There must be a reason. Likewise it is important to find out why expulsions take place. If nobody wants them and yet the occur, there must be a reason.

It is clear, as Gary Porter just showed, that nobody proved the expelled shouldn't be in the party, why did the expulsions take place? Someone might say that the leadership of the party is acting irrationally—is a bit unbalanced. Well, this isn't the answer. The leaders of the NDP are very seriouspolitically, very intelligent people and they know what they are doing. Is there some personal vendetta between the leadership of the NDP and the expelled? In fact many of the expelled didn't know any of the Provincial Executive personally, these kind of answers don't explain why this has occurred.

The question of being a member or supporter of another political party is not the issue. The Provincial Executive threw in this charge. But they never produced any proof; they never even said they had any proof. They never even bothered to tell us what other political party they thought

the expelled might be supporting! No, the action of the Executive show that they didn't take their own charges seriously. The real reason is not hard to find. The real issue is the ideas of the expelled. They are all active socialists. They have put forward their socialist views in the Party and carried them out in practice. They have been leading activists in the movement to end the Vietnam war, and have fought to have the Party join and lead this movement. Through these expulsions, the Provincial Executive has sought to illegitimize the ideas of these members, make them illegal.

Our ideas are rooted in the NDP and its tradition. They were the essence of the Regina Manifesto on which the NDP and CCF were founded. The expulsions are part of a long campaign of the leadership to rid the Party of socialist ideas. Let me give you an example from the last Federal convention of the NDP. There we formed the Socialist Caucus, printed our proposals for the Party program and a number of delegates put them on the floor. They said that if the Party is going to be successful, is going to bring about an economic democracy in Canada, that it must adopt a socialist program, and that this program will make the Party a much stronger force.

On the very first day of the convention we were publicly denounced by T. C. Douglas--our federal leader-in a press interview where he called the Socialist Caucus a bunch of "screwballs". Then after the convention there was a special report in the Ontario New Democrat. A full page expose on "Canada's Screwball Left-the Trotskyites". That's how the New Democrat dealt with the Socialist Caucus, which they charged with "attempting to disrupt, delay and if possible discredit the proceedings", and with being a "Trotskyist device to entrap New Democrats who seek profound and economic changes." Our reply, which the New Democrat refused to print, saidin part, "A debate of this kind (debate over program) could have been continued fruitfully in the

pages of the New Democrat or any other Party organ. We are forced to ask why the Editors of the New Democrat have called an end to the debate, for when they imply that the Socialist Caucus is a product of screwball thinking and therefore not worthy of consideration, they do exactly that. And when they associate the caucus with the League for Socialist Action which they have declared outlaw they are threatening even worse - expulsion."

What are these ideas we put forward? Here are some of them: Fundamental social change through nationalization of the basic industries; support for the colonial revolution; the necessity for a decisive turn by the Party towards the labor movement; development and maintenance of internal Party democracy; genuine self-determination for Quebec;

a charter on women's rights demanding the elimination of womens' role as a captive consumer and source of cheap labor for industry. Anyone who wants to can look at the program which the Socialist Caucus is advancing at the next Federal convention. We call for: A serious effort to mobilize opposition to the Vietnam War; for uncomp romising support for the rights and struggles of the working people: Nationalization of the CPR: Full party democracy and the development of a mass youth movement. Are these screwball ideas? Did the presentation of this program constitute an attempt by "screwballs" to damage the party?

There has been a long history of expulsions in the NDP and CCF. Back in the CCF Bert Herridge, our MP from Kootenay West was expelled and reinstated. Cedric Cox, a former MLA from Vancouver, was threatened with expulsion for going to Cuba. In 1962 people were expelled from the B.C. section of the Party --people who hold views close to those who have been expelled now. In 1963 12 people were expelled from the Ontario NDP--all in the same frame work, they too were socialists. In 1964, two longtime members of the B.C. NDP, Ruth and Reg Bullock were expelled. Reg Bullock at one time was Provincial organizer of the B.C. CCF. And now in 1967 we have the expulsions of what probably will be at least 22 people from the NDP. All these people are socialists who are part of the left wing of the New Democratic Party.

It's the socialists who are expelled. Walter Miller, an NDP official in Ottawa, who defected to a fascist type organization, was never harrassed. Pat O'Neil, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor, whose connections with the RCMP were exposed through a controversy over a union bugging incident and who held a prominent position in the NDP, never had his membership questioned. In fact through his position he had a hand in the engineering of the expulsion of the B.C. socialists. I've never heard of those NDPers who have close connections with the Liberal Party, and there are many, being expelled. It's the Socialists they're after.

You can't carry this kind of activity without repercussions throughout the whole Party. It's not an isolated question. It is part and parcel of a definite trend to make the Party an electoral machine with very little membership involvement. It is part and parcel of the situation we see in Ontario where the youth movement no longer exists, and it is the most far reaching and terrible example of a certain internal deterioration which affects members of all views in the Party. When you don't have a membership which can express its views or put forward its ideas in a free and democratic manner the Party is terribly weakened. I think the Party will pay a heavy price in this attempt to eliminate socialists.

Why the expulsions? In my opinion they are tied in with the kind of program the Party has now. And in this framework, the programmatic criticisms that the socialist caucus has put forward is very important.

The leadership of this party and the program they put forward supports the capitalist system, with some reforms. Out of this program comes the drive and the political necessity for these expulsions which nobody wants.

The leadership wants to operate within the frame of the system-wants to ingratiate itself with the system-doesn't like the socialists to put forward their views in the Party because of the alleged resulting "bad" image-fears attacks by spokesmen for the system which they feel is the death blow to electoral support. So the logic of this is to attack the Socialists in the Party. Their views are not considered legitimate since they oppose the system the leadership supports.

This is where the present reformist program leads. In supporting the capitalist system the Party tends to borrow from capitalism the concept of the manipulation of people - reflected in the disregard for the Party ranks which we saw at the Provincial Council meeting It sees political reality solely in terms of the power of brilliant, silver tongued politicians. It begins to believe that an intelligent persuasive leadership can talk the rulers of this country into giving a better deal to Canadian working people. It rejects the idea that serious social change must involve the mobilization of the population at large and likewise it rejects the idea that the Party membership should be involved in the decision on the expulsions. I think you will agree that there is a very solid connection here between the present reformist program and the grave organizational trends which have culminated in the expulsions. It is this connection which lies at the basis of any explanation for these political expulsions and points the the serious, deep-rooted programmatic crisis facing the Party.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE EXPULSIONS

FOR SPEAKERS TO RIDING MEETINGS:

FOR BUNDLE ORDERS OF THIS PAMPHLET:

TO ASSIST THE COMMITTEE

IN ITS DEFENSE WORK:

CONTACT:

The Committee to Defend the Expelled c/o Mrs. J. Birrell, 9 Sylvan, Toronto, Ont

If you would like information on the political positions and program which the expelled put forward in the New Democratic Party, write:

THE SOCIALIST CAUCUS BULLETIN BOX 872, Station F, Toronto, Ont.